France: No Problems Solved—*Alexander Werth*

THE Nation

June 23, 1951

Voice of Humanity

The U. N.'s Quiet Victories

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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The Chemicals We Eat

BY RUTH E. BRECHER

*

The McCarthy-MacArthur Axis

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

BY SUSPENDING FOR NINETY DAYS THE operation of the Kem amendment to the Supplemental Appropriations Act, the National Security Council has postponed a near débâcle. But only postponed it. With the fire-eaters in Congress already shouting treason and sell-out, the Administration will have to move fast to produce a workable substitute plan within the three months' period of grace. The Kem amendment would deny American aid to all countries that continue to ship to countries in the Soviet bloc any of a vast catalogue of materials whose export to that area we ourselves have banned. The list includes thousands of items whose relationship to war could not be discerned even by the eagle eye of a Republican Senator. Strictly interpreted, the amendment would permit just one country now getting American aid to continue to receive it—namely, Yugoslavia, which has been subjected to a ruthless trade boycott by its Cominform neighbors. Not only would the Kem ruling strangle the economy of Austria and Norway, as the Security Council specifically pointed out, but it would throw a brand-new monkey wrench, at this most critical moment, into the economic machinery of Europe as a whole. Even without Senator Kem's help existing restrictions on East-West trade, by cramping and distorting the normal commerce of the Continent, have forced the United States to absorb unneeded goods and dispense dollars to a point that has justifiably alarmed many of the Senator's fellow-Republicans. The amendment would make a bad economic situation much worse, quite apart from its devastating effect on our relations with friendly powers and on the hope of a peaceful way out of the cold war.

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THE REVELATIONS OF MISTREATMENT AND starvation of South Korean draftees and of unbelievable graft in the Korean army caused hardly a ripple in the American press or in the United Nations. Brigadier General Kim Yeun Keun, head of the South Korean National Guard, and several other officers now await trial on charges of having looted funds earmarked for the training of draftees to the amount of some $4,000,000. General Kim is also accused of having sent recruits on a 300-mile "death march" in the bitter cold and snow of the Korean winter; Korean sources estimate that 25,000 men died along the way. General Ridgway has sidestepped the issue by terming it "an internal Korean affair" of no concern for Tokyo. Nor has the growing opposition to Syngman Rhee in the South Korean assembly been accorded serious consideration. Coming on top of these military and political scandals, Rhee's declaration at Pusan on June 12 that the world should beware of a "phony peace" in Korea clearly registers the fears of a dictator who senses that time is running short.

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HALF-CONCEALED BY THE SPATE OF WORDS over the roll-back in beef prices is some curious talk about a buyers' strike. With public attention fixed on O. P. S. ceilings and reduced runs of cattle to the markets, stories are circulating about sharp increases in the sales of cheese, eggs, chicken, and fish. Others tell of butchers who have more meat on hand than can be sold at current prices. There is, of course, an element of truth in these tales. Concern with inflation and high prices has led people to ignore a so-called "secondary recession" which became apparent early last month. High inventories and slow sales have produced a softening in the economy which is doubtless reflected in the "beef paradox"—though supplies have dwindled, sales continue to remain sluggish. But there is also some inspired propaganda in these stories of price breaks and buyers' strikes, an effort, that is, to give currency to the notion that the danger of inflation is over and that controls are no longer needed. President Truman, however, has warned the nation that price increases thus far "are only curtain raisers to what will come if the Congress fails to pass a stronger price-control law." The crucial fact is that the Defense Production Act, which authorizes price-wage-credit-production controls, expires on June 30 unless Congress acts to extend it.

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THE HIGH POINT OF THIS YEAR'S AMERICAN Medical Association convention at Atlantic City was the appearance of Dave Beck, boss of the West Coast teamsters. A selected group of 500 delegates heard Beck

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praise the A. M. A. as "a pretty good union" and denounce President Truman's proposals for national health insurance as "a dangerous socialistic trend that cannot be tolerated." Last year William L. Hutcheson, president of the A. F. of L. carpenters, was scheduled to speak but was prevented by a last-minute illness. Beck's appearance this year carries the unmistakable imprint of Whitaker and Baxter; a less hardy public relations counsel would have shied away from this bold departure from tradition. Some of the doctors were a bit upset. "Fellow like that oughtn't to yell so loud," one delegate was heard to say. "Red face, all tensed up; he ought to be careful at his age." Beck's speech to the élite of the A. M. A. was broadcast by 100 radio stations. Over the week-end Whitaker and Baxter, who have little enthusiasm for conventions, were resting in a suite at the Waldorf-Astoria. They had hoped, so they told *The Nation,* to be relieved of their $100,000 a year retainer from the A. M. A. but the doctors would not hear of it. Given a standing ovation, Whitaker and Baxter were asked to carry on, dynamically, against Truman and socialized medicine. Note for *Nation* readers: next year may see Whitaker and Baxter directing their first Presidential campaign.

*

A RATHER UNIMPORTANT TRESPASS CASE IN which Hyman Schlesinger represented one of the parties was called for hearing by Judge Michael A. Musmanno of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, on the morning of May 24. Before the trial started, Judge Musmanno, who is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the State Supreme Court in next month's primaries, ordered the courtroom cleared of parties and witnesses but permitted newspaper reporters and spectators to remain. He then placed Schlesinger under oath and inquired if he was a member of the Communist Party or the Civil Rights Congress. When Schlesinger refused to answer Judge Musmanno denounced him from the bench as "morally unfit," found him in contempt, and issued a warrant for his arrest. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has now dismissed the contempt proceedings as well as Judge Musmanno's order barring Schlesinger from practicing law in the Allegheny County courts. "It need hardly be stated," said Chief Justice James B. Drew in his opinion, "that this court is as opposed to communism in all its manifestations as the respondent judge who instituted these contempt proceedings. But . . . what the judge has done in his zeal against communism is to adopt the detestable methods employed by Communists themselves in arbitrary and unjudicial proceedings contrary to all our cherished traditions of law and legal procedure." No sooner was Mr. Schlesinger released, however, than he was promptly rearrested and jailed without bond on a sedition charge preferred by Matthew Cvetic, a former

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FBI undercover agent and informer. Demagoguery has often been tolerated if not approved in candidates for judicial office, but it has been generally assumed that once on the bench they should act like judges. "Detestable" would seem to be the right word to describe to Pennsylvania voters the conduct of a judge who is seeking still higher judicial office.

Controls or Catastrophe

WITH the Defense Production Act scheduled to expire on June 30, Congress has bickered and stalled to the very deadline. Members who profess the greatest horror at the war casualties and the most intense enmity toward communism are flagrantly maneuvering for partisan advantage in their struggle to avoid a clear-cut grant of power to the Administration. The same members who last summer insisted on giving the President authority to impose direct wage-price controls when Mr. Truman said it was unnecessary are now hesitating about his request for greater authority in the future. The anti-labor bloc, which used a national emergency last year to try to hamstring unions, is now seeking some way to undermine the progress toward workable wage stabilization achieved by means of Presidential directives.

The Ford Motor Company's intervention in the fight over renewed controls, though not completely objective or disinterested, was a welcome relief from the efforts of the otherwise almost solid special-interests' lobby in favor of business as usual. The Ford Company came out flatly for continued wage and price controls, continued allocation of scarce materials, and balanced credit controls. The automobile industry feels injured by present cutbacks of materials for motor cars and the impact of credit controls on its dealers, but Ford understands that we can ruin ourselves by unchecked economic inflation almost as easily as by losing a war, hot or cold.

Few other business spokesmen have had a kind word for the stringent controls the times demand. The National Association of Manufacturers' lobbyists have sent one set of witnesses to protest against direct wage-price controls and argue that we should rely on high taxes and credit restrictions, and another set to insist that corporation taxes must not be raised too much. They would, of course, be delighted to see the country pay its mobilization bills by a sales tax loading a disproportionate share of the cost on small-income families.

The situation in Congress regarding wage stabilization is particularly shocking. Despite shortsighted restrictions written into the 1950 Defense Production Act, the President was able to develop a feasible program by ignoring one section of the law, in which Congress unwisely undertook to write policy, and proceeding under another section, using the constitutional powers of the Executive. Now the anti-union bloc is protesting that Mr. Truman's program is illegal if not unconstitutional. The chairman of a House labor subcommittee considering the Defense Production Act, Wingate Lucas of Texas, worked hand in glove with conservative Republicans three years ago to scuttle the wage-hour law while maintaining that he was liberalizing it. Only the public members of the Wage Stabilization Board are available to try to explain the facts about wage controls to a Congress fundamentally hostile.

A few truisms should be recognized by the business-as-usual boys. If people don't have enough money to buy meat, the livestock lobby will not benefit by forcing Michael DiSalle to cancel roll-back orders. If soaring living costs force marginal families over the financial brink, agitation for higher wages and salaries will be intensified. If Congress thought last year that wage-price controls were desirable, it can have no excuse for pretending that such controls will not be needed in the future. Shortages of civilian goods will become much more stringent in 1952 and 1953, and a rounded program of direct and indirect controls will be even more essential than now. The longer Congress delays in writing a new Defense Production Act, strengthened in the general public interest, the more dangerously will our economy be thrown out of balance. And the people know it. They cannot be fooled this year—as they were in 1946—into believing that the way to check inflation is to destroy the anti-inflationary economic weapons available to a democratic government.

On these issues the President must stand and fight, and his direct appeal to the people last Thursday night indicates that he knows it. The more strongly he is supported by letters, telegrams, and personal appeals to Congress, the better the chances that consumers can get through the next two years without losing their shirts.

Who Won in Italy?

IF municipalities rather than votes are counted, the anti-Communist coalition won a victory in the recent Italian elections which apparently justified the note of rejoicing heard in most comment in the American press. Turin, Florence, Asti, Pisa, and other important provincial cities were captured from the left by the government parties in the third round of local elections, as were many previously Communist-ruled municipalities in the two earlier ballotings. In all, 230 towns, small and large, moved from the control of the extreme left to that of various center and right-wing parties. But the popular vote told a startlingly different story. The left bloc won a total of 36.9 per cent of all the votes cast, an increase of almost 6 per cent over 1948. Why, then, did it lose so many of the municipalities it had formerly administered. Americans who welcomed the result as a triumph for sound democratic principles should, in the

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interest of objectivity, recognize that it was obtained only through a tricky "electoral reform" law which successfully defeated the popular will.

Another aspect of the elections worth pondering is that the increased vote of the left coincided very generally with improved conditions—brought about largely by a billion and one-third dollars in American aid—though the improvement, according to many documented surveys, had seriously reduced Communist strength. Neither the much-discussed defections from Communist Party leadership earlier this year which caused Togliatti to hurry back from Moscow to Rome nor the undeniable dissatisfaction of some members of the Nenni party found reflection at the polls.

A careful analysis of the Italian results will be printed next week in *The Nation*. Meanwhile we would suggest one explanation for the increased left vote in Italy: the leftist bloc successfully presented itself in these elections as the peace party, and concomitantly as the party of constructive work, agrarian reform, higher wages, reduced living costs, while making the government coalition appear to be the party of war—of armaments, higher prices, less food, and less power for labor. If this interpretation is correct, the Italian returns should be given close study by all thinking Americans.

France: No Problems Solved

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 18, by Cable

THE prevailing forecast, mentioned in my article in last week's issue of *The Nation*, that roughly one hundred seats each would be won by the main political groups—Communists, Socialists, Radicals, M. R. P., Gaullists, other right parties—was borne out by the election results now available. (As I write some fifty contests are still to be decided.) The Gaullists and Communists did slightly better than the Radicals and the M. R. P., who fell somewhat below the one hundred mark. Whether or not the system of *apparentements* is properly democratic or politically moral, it achieved its main aim by limiting "undemocratic" Gaullist and Communist representation. For if in the Paris area, where proportional representation applied, the votes were almost equally split among three groups—Communist, Gaullist, and center plus rightist parties—in the provinces large Communist and Gaullist votes were often rendered ineffective by the *apparentements* of the center parties, which grabbed all the seats in one-third of the constituencies. Figures so far available show that in France, as distinct from Italy, the Communists not only lost seats but obtained a smaller proportion of the total vote, dropping from 28 per cent in 1946 to 26 per cent today.

Intensive anti-red propaganda has succeeded in detaching from the Communists some peasant and petty-bourgeois elements, but the Communists nevertheless retain a practical monopoly of working-class allegiance. More significant, in view of the great flamboyance of their election campaign, is the relative failure of the Gaullists. This is due in part to De Gaulle's numerous tactical errors, from his May Day speech, which scared the voters with its anticipation of revolutionary violence, to his refusal to take part in *apparentements*. The Gaullist economic program, moreover, as I showed last week, was excessively vague, and, finally, the General had the bulk of the press against him. Even formerly Gaullist papers, with an eye toward their circulation, gave him only cautious support; *Figaro* became frankly anti-Gaullist, preferring to back outright conservatives.

In so far as American influence was reflected in the press, directly or indirectly, it clearly worked against De Gaulle, who appeared inordinately independent: his foreign policy, for example, demanded that no air bases be granted the United States without adequate guaranties for the land defense of France's European territory. On the other hand, the Gaullists scared some voters by their extravagant plans for building up a vast French army in order to safeguard France's "diplomatic independence."

On the face of it, democracy has won—even if the means used were doubtful. But what kind of democracy? It may have been relatively easy for the government parties and the rightists to collaborate to win the election, but can they make a coherent government majority? Although French Socialists are almost infinitely adaptable as coalition partners, the demands of Radicals and rightists for scrapping nationalization, cuts in social services, and so forth may make Socialist participation in the government intolerable. Certain elements of the M. R. P. will also refuse to go along with such reactionary schemes. If these two groups go into opposition, the government will depend on Gaullist support, and it is a question what condition will accompany such support.

One of the first tasks the new government will face is to bring order into the present financial mess. Today France has an annual deficit estimated at six to eight hundred billion francs. Another issue on which the rightists may provoke trouble is whether "drastic action" shall be taken against the Communist Party, but this may not come up immediately. Post-election strikes must be expected, and increased social unrest will become inevitable if the cost of living continues to soar. The unequal distribution of France's wealth remains the major difficulty. This is a problem that the kind of government which will emerge from last Sunday's election will scarcely be able to solve, since the big-employer class will now have a larger say than it had in the last Assembly.

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McCarthy-MacArthur Axis

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 14

THE most important fact to emerge from the Republican Party's running attack on President Truman's Far Eastern policy is the extent to which the party has been taken over by General MacArthur and Joe McCarthy. From the Senate Republicans this year has come no "declaration of conscience" repudiating McCarthy's nauseating character assassination. Nor have other Republican leaders disavowed the manner or content of MacArthur's all-out assault on popularly elected civilian government. With the exception of Senator Morse of Oregon, no Republican on the Foreign Relations or Armed Services Committee appears anxious to challenge the Knowlands and Hickenloopers who have persuaded themselves that the highest loyalty of Americans is owed to Chiang Kai-shek and that anyone who disagrees is an appeaser, a pro-Communist, or a spy.

The testimony of Louis A. Johnson, former Secretary of Defense, before the Russell committee today confirmed a number of statements made by this correspondent, among others, immediately after the outbreak of the Korean war. It established the fact that Secretary of State Acheson, the so-called appeaser, took the initiative in urging the use of American force to defend the Republic of Korea against naked aggression from the north. It established the fact that Acheson had opposed the Pentagon's desire to bolster Chiang on Formosa but compromised after the Korean war broke out to the extent of supporting a "neutralization" of the island. Johnson was apparently quite happy to accuse the State Department of "dragging its feet" in building up Chiang but equally anxious to defend himself from charges that he had unwisely "cut muscle" from the armed services by economy moves.

Eight expert witnesses have now testified before the Russell committee concerning MacArthur's demands that we bomb Manchuria, blockade China and the Soviet Pacific ports, and "go it alone" in contemptuous disregard of opinion in other Asiatic countries and among our European allies. Not one of these witnesses has supported MacArthur—not Defense Secretary Marshall or any of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, not Acheson, Johnson, or even General Wedemeyer, who bewildered the Republicans as well as the Democrats by his confused views on what we ought to do now and what we might have done in 1945 to save Chiang. About all that Wedemeyer made clear was that in February, 1945, he had urgently recommended a deal to get the Soviet Union into the war against Japan, that he himself had called Chiang's regime "corrupt and incompetent," and that in August, 1945, he had wanted to throw seven and a half American divisions into Manchuria—a proposal rejected by MacArthur. The Wedemeyer policy had at the time, as it has today, the merit of candor; it recognized six years ago that an attempt to prop up Chiang on the Chinese mainland would require American troops in addition to the "logistical support" of which MacArthur spoke so optimistically. But in spite of the lack of testimony favoring MacArthur's position, G. O. P. policy still seems to be keynoted by MacArthur and McCarthy.

In his speech to the Texas legislature yesterday the ousted General spelled out the attack on the Administration at which he discreetly hinted in his April address to Congress. He had much to say about "spiritual" values, about the "moral deterioration" of politicians ruled by "expediency," about the necessity of ending national "confusion, disorder, and dismay." He appeared as a champion of free enterprise, an enemy of what he called the "arrogant mantle of oligarchic power" assumed by the federal government. It may be an invidious and perhaps unjust comparison, but the rise of the intolerant military mind in every nation where democracy has fallen has been marked by tirades against the "corruption" of the "old parties" and appeals for discipline and "tranquillity."

Mr. Truman is partly to blame for the fact that in this country generals have been elevated to the role of high policy-makers. He has named generals and admirals as ambassadors, appointed Marshall Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, used Generals Eisenhower and Bradley as his spokesmen in regard to the North Atlantic Pact: to rescue Acheson from the embarrassment of having urged West German rearmament prematurely, Eisenhower stood up before Congress and declared that he wanted no "unwilling contingents" in an army under his command. Even when the President created a commission to investigate the danger that tyrannical laws might damage both our freedom and our security, he chose Admiral Nimitz as its chairman.

In this context it is not astonishing that even a mere three-star general on the eve of retirement like Wedemeyer should be seized upon by Mr. Truman's political opponents to further their ends, or that MacArthur should be welcomed as a Republican campaigner leading a direct assault upon the Administration.

Mr. Truman is also partly to blame for the fact that McCarthy has been allowed to retain enough standing to attack Marshall on the Senate floor as a knave whose "guilty intention" was to undermine his own country and further the interests of the Soviet Union. The President has steadfastly refused to turn his back on Acheson, who was the victim of foul slander last year, but he did not fight the November, 1950, election on the direct issue McCarthy had created by accusing the Secretary of State of treachery and malfeasance. He listened, instead, to the inept advice of the Democratic National

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Committee, which bullheadedly dismissed McCarthyism as of no importance. Today McCarthy is a not too implausible candidate for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination, perhaps as a running-mate for that model of sterling integrity Robert A. Taft, who no longer bothers to deny an alliance in which the Wisconsin Senator does the dirty work from which the Ohio Senator hopes to benefit.

Despite the optimism in some government circles about the military situation, it seems naive to suppose that Russia and the Chinese Communists will stop bleeding us while we are torn with dissension and while suspicion about the integrity of our leadership is deliberately aroused for partisan purposes. If a settlement should surprisingly be reached, MacArthur and McCarthy would swiftly fade away. But if the Administration faces a prolonged military stalemate in Korea, it must break the political stalemate in the United States by shifting from the defensive to the offensive against its domestic enemies.

Voice of Humanity

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

MUCH of the serious work done by the United Nations has gone unrecognized because the papers report chiefly the clashes of the Security Council and General Assembly. This emphasis on discord and on the failure to produce an effective policy in a grave crisis like the Korean war has led people to think of the United Nations as almost useless. The U. N.'s enemies, most of whom are found in the reactionary camp, rejoice to see the general public losing some of the faith placed in the organization when it was founded at San Francisco, and encourage the tendency. Their efforts to discredit the United Nations can perhaps best be counteracted by pointing to what has been accomplished outside the dramatic sessions of the Assembly and Security Council.

The first thing to be noted is that many more decisions have been made unanimously or almost unanimously than is generally supposed. The Genocide Convention, the Declaration of Human Rights, and various other resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote. I have written from Geneva in previous summers about the excellent work done by the Economic Commission for Europe under the capable guidance of Gunnar Myrdal. For a long time this commission furnished a meeting place for East and West where they could discuss amicably the world's economic problems. It is a branch of the Economic and Social Council, which itself defies the skeptics and still offers some hope—even in this crazy time when any talk of a negotiated peace is considered subversive—that the gap between the two blocs may some day be bridged and a settlement reached.

The last report of the Economic and Social Council (August 16, 1950) provided abundant evidence of the very considerable results obtained by the twelve commissions and thirteen agencies into which it is subdivided. The most diverse economic and social problems have been studied: how to promote higher standards of living and full employment; how to improve the health of people all over the world (World Health Organization); how to prevent industrial strife and improve working conditions (International Labor Organization); how to increase and properly distribute the world's food supply (Food and Agriculture Organization); how to expand world trade (International Trade Organization); and how to further mutual understanding among the peoples of the world (UNESCO).

An interesting function of these agencies is to serve as a medium through which the hopes and fears of the common man can influence U. N. decisions, to give public opinion an opportunity to make itself felt. For example, I have before me the report (dated May 19, 1951) of Roger N. Baldwin, the extremely able chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man. Representing this organization and the American Civil Liberties Union at the recent ECOSOC meeting in Geneva, Mr. Baldwin initiated an effort to have the decision of the Commission on Human Rights reversed, so that individuals as well as organizations would be permitted to make complaints of violations of the declaration. He did not get what he wanted, but, as he declares in his report, "the issue isn't dead." He will raise the question again when the General Assembly meets next fall in Paris. The same report mentions other issues which were settled in accordance with the desires of nongovernmental cooperating organizations—real victories for the U. N.

An extraordinarily well-documented book that will be useful to anyone who wants to know about the work of the United Nations has just been published—"International Non-Governmental Organizations," by Lyman C. White, a member of the U. N. secretariat.* In it Mr. White says:

> It was on the 21st of June, 1946, that the Economic and Social Council, in accordance with Article 71, put into effect arrangements for consultations with non-gov-

* Rutgers University Press, $5.

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ernmental organizations. These arrangements, as since modified, went further in extending to non-governmental organizations opportunities for the presentation of their views than have ever been granted to such groups by any national government. The United Nations thus began a great experiment in relations between the governmental and non-governmental aspects of society—an experiment which was intended to bring to the United Nations public opinions as expressed by the organizations set up by the people themselves according to their different professions, vocations, and interests, and which was also intended to make available to the Council the expert technical advice . . . and information which many of these organizations had acquired through long years of work on particular economic or social problems. The United Nations thus took a great step toward the establishment of a true and full democracy on the international level.

THE director of the U. N. Division of Narcotics and Drugs is Dr. Leon Steinig, whom I used to know in Geneva in the days of the League of Nations, where he fought the powerful opium and cocaine ring with great zest and ability. When I met him recently, he expressed himself as vigorously as ever about a situation which contains all the elements of a novel of intrigue set in the underworlds of great capitals, where politicians consort with gangsters and people will pay any price for the drugs that will dull their despair.

He was gratified that a first step of immense importance for the control of the drug traffic had been taken: by international agreement legal and administrative measures dealing with narcotics had been made uniform in a large number of countries. Renouncing their sovereignty in the matter in a most encouraging way—both as an example and as a portent—these countries have signed a series of conventions creating independent international bodies empowered to exercise real control over the sale of narcotics and to apply sanctions against states and territories which exceed the set limits.

The system of control is very simple. Since the illicit traffic in drugs, which is destroying the health of millions of individuals and the collective welfare, is international, with captains of the vice industry and an army of distributors in every corner of every continent, the war waged against it must also be international. Before action on such a scale can be instituted, the drugs necessary to modern therapeutics and the quantity required must be determined. Each country therefore calculates how much opium, morphine, and the like it will need in the coming year and is allowed to import that amount—with a reasonable margin for error or unforeseen circumstances. If any country exceeds its allowance, an embargo is imposed, and all the other signatories are notified. The embargo is not merely on paper. It has been effectively imposed in sixty cases, and as a result international regulation has proved highly successful.

Those who profit from the illegal sale of narcotics lack neither imagination nor boldness. In 1940 the market in this country seemed almost wiped out. According to official figures, the number of addicts had fallen to as low as one in three thousand. So the vice-profiteers created a demand from a new quarter—teen-agers were induced to become habitués. For months the papers have been full of sensational reports of the situation in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities. The New York police have estimated that the city has at least 5,000 teen-age addicts. At this very moment a state inquiry has uncovered pathetic and shocking stories of children whose addiction to drugs has led them into every sort of corruption—sexual and criminal. In many cities fathers' committees have been formed to cooperate with the authorities. The evil has also spread to rural areas, where the gravity of this threat to the nation's youth is perhaps not thoroughly understood. When heroin can be bought in Italy for $1,000 a kilo and sold in the United States for from $6,000 to $8,000, large quantities are bound to be smuggled in unless the U. N. controls are vigorously enforced.

With the development of international action signatory countries have given up their "sovereign" right to manufacture and sell narcotics. Times have changed since the Opium War in the middle of the nineteenth century when Gladstone, in the name of humanity, denounced Palmerston for defending the unlimited right of a sovereign state to further its own interests. For the sake of their health, peoples have pressed for a renunciation of sovereignty in this field. An intelligent approach to the problem treats narcotics like atomic energy, which can increase man's well-being or bring death and destruction according to the way it is employed. A century has been needed to reach this conclusion with respect to drugs, but experiments in international cooperation can be carried out by the U. N. in a much shorter time.

In the Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the U. N. Economic and Social Council everyone cooperates loyally and enthusiastically. I have often heard members praise the attitude of the Soviet delegate, V. V. Zakousov, professor of pharmacology at the University of Leningrad.

At present the scientists in the U. N. Division of Narcotics are trying to discover the point of origin of the shipments smuggled into the United States. If they succeed, their efforts to end the traffic will be greatly facilitated. Against the imagination of the opium ring is pitted the imagination of the international agency charged with protecting the collective safety and morale from the insidious evil of the drug habit.

WHEN UNRRA and the IRO have disappeared from the scene, and Point Four is talked about only to blunt the criticism of those who believe that some of the fantastic sums spent on armaments might be used to help the millions of people who are dying for lack of

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a great international act of humanity, there will be some compensation in knowing that the UNICEF exists and is carrying on its work. These initials stand for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, which has three guiding principles: (a) aid must be given without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality, or political belief; (b) aid will be granted only to make a permanent contribution to child welfare; (c) the sum spent in any country must be matched by the government or some voluntary agency. A glance at the Fund's financial situation provides encouraging evidence, reinforcing the instances I have cited above, that the people are participating in the work of the United Nations, for private persons have contributed more than governments. Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have cooperated most consistently. The United States furnished the money required to start the work, $15,000,000 in 1947, and recently gave another $5,000,000. But much more will be needed.

The directors of the Fund are rightly paying most attention to Asia. The difficulty there is that many countries are too poor to meet the condition laid down in point (c), that they must match any sum contributed by the Fund. It would be hard for them to spend even five cents for each child. Miss Ruth Crawford, one of the officials of the organization, has told me how, in spite of this and other obstacles, it has managed to operate. One of its makeshifts, for example, has been the use of a "midwife's kit," bought by the Fund for $72, which permits it to mobilize the services of a large number of girls—students and workers—to combat the terrible mortality among newborn babies until nurses and doctors can be trained to take over the work.

The Fund is also aiding in the prevention and control of children's diseases, in providing milk, cod-liver oil, and other protective foods, obtaining material for children's clothing and shoes, and supplying special care for handicapped children. By January, 1951, a million children in Ceylon, India, and Pakistan had been brought within the scope of an anti-tuberculosis campaign. An idea of the total aid rendered can be gained from the following figures: some 2,500,000 to 8,000,000 children and mothers have been given a glass of milk a day for many months, some of them for several years; 6,000,000 children have been given one or two pieces of warm clothing, a pair of shoes, and a blanket; 11,000,000 have been vaccinated against tuberculosis, and new thousands are being added to the number every day.

All that I have written here about the United Nations tells only a fraction of the story. It should be enough, however, to refute the contention that the international organization is a failure because it has not made peace secure; even in this sphere it has had some success, and in any case the blame must be borne by the governments of the member nations, which have lacked the imagination and courage to make a serious attempt to negotiate a settlement. When one thinks what could have been done in the six post-war years with a hundredth part of the money spent in one day on armaments, one does not know whether to be more astounded at the irresponsibility of governments or at the apathy of peoples toward the problem of assuring peace.

The Chemicals We Eat

BY RUTH E. BRECHER

A FEW years ago a chemist discovered that cut fruit can be prevented from browning by the addition of thiourea, a drug once used in treating hyperthyroidism. A packer of frozen peaches, apparently unaware that doctors had abandoned thiourea because it was too toxic, added it to his product. By sheer good luck, the Food and Drug Administration heard about it and picked up samples from the first shipment. The peaches were fed to rats one day; the next morning the rats were dead. The rest of the treated peaches were seized before they were to go on sale.

The narrow margin by which a possible tragedy was averted points up a frightening problem of the chemical age. During the past few decades an enormous number of chemicals have been introduced, or proposed for introduction, into food processing. The F. D. A. has a list comprising 124 preservatives, anti-oxidants, and mold inhibitors; 189 insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, plant-growth regulators; 90 emulsifying agents, wetting agents, "improvers," maturing agents, and flour bleaches; 51 wax coatings, resins, plasticizers, and other ingredients of packaging materials; 24 acidulants, buffers, and neutralizers; 274 flavoring materials and solvents; 24 artificial colors; 33 vitamins and minerals; 4 sugar substitutes; 29 miscellaneous chemicals—a total of 842, of which 704 are known to be in current use. Of the 704, the F. D. A. describes 428 as "probably safe as normally used." The other 276 are either known to be unsafe or have not been adequately investigated.

RUTH E. BRECHER is a free-lance journalist with a special interest in the science of nutrition. This is the second of a series of articles on abuses in the food and drug trades. The third, by Leonard Engel, will deal with laxatives.

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The public has some safeguards. The F. D. A. is authorized, for instance, to limit insecticide residues, promulgate "standards of identity" prescribing what may be used in a given food article sold in interstate commerce, and seize as adulterated any foods containing substances which it can prove, to the satisfaction of a court, are harmful. Many manufacturers, of course, perform toxicity tests before they introduce new chemicals. The F. D. A., however, is chronically short of funds, and has not made really vigorous use of some of the powers it has: residue limits, for instance, have not yet been set on most of the highly toxic insecticides introduced since the war.

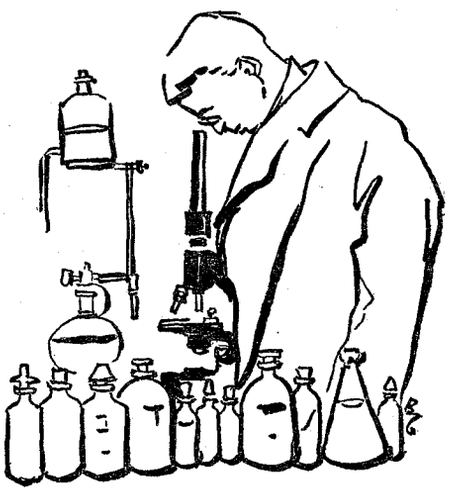
Moreover, manufacturers who test for toxicity often test for acute toxicity only—by feeding to laboratory animals large doses of the chemical which they plan to offer the public. Such a test may catch acute poisons but not chronic poisons. Large doses of these may be harmless when taken for a brief period, while very small doses may cause death or serious illness when taken over a long period. Tests for chronic toxicity are particularly important in the case of foods, which may be eaten daily for years.

FOR the past nine months a "select" committee of the House of Representatives, the Delaney committee, has been investigating the use of chemicals in foodstuffs with an eye toward strengthening the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, the basic law under which the F. D. A. operates. The committee's hearings have made it abundantly clear that luck rather than science has averted a number of large-scale tragedies.

A case in point is Dulcin, a synthetic sweetening agent marketed also under the names Sucrol and Valzin. Dulcin is described as being 200 times as sweet as sugar and as lacking the bitter after-taste of saccharin. Since its discovery in 1898 Dulcin has been increasingly used as a sugar substitute, and nobody is known to have become *acutely* ill as a result. In 1947, however, the F. D. A. began to test Dulcin for chronic effects. The effects were found, all right. Rats fed even minute amounts of Dulcin day after day for two years failed to grow to full size, their blood was adversely affected, liver tumors were produced. By 1950 enough evidence had been accumulated to warrant an F. D. A. "Statement of Policy" branding Dulcin as a poison unfit for use in foodstuffs. How much chronic illness and how many liver tumors were produced by Dulcin in the fifty-two years before the F. D. A. was able to prove it toxic, no one will ever know.

In another instance, that of a vitamin preparation containing a synthetic emulsifier, the extent of the tragedy is well known, though the emulsifier has not finally been proved responsible. Here is the story, as told to the Delaney committee by Dr. Franklin C. Bing, chairman of the Committee on Chemicals Introduced in Foods of the American Public Health Association:

> *Dr. Bing*: . . . There is this condition of retrolental fibroplasia of babies born prematurely. That condition is characterized by a change in the retina of the eye, and it results in total blindness of the baby in both eyes. That condition was either not known or was observed so occasionally that it was not recognized, by and large, up until about 1941, and then the incidence of it increased so that from 30 to 40 per cent of the prematurely born babies in some nurseries, some hospitals, had this condition and became blind.
>
> Now the medical investigators looking into that have cast suspicion on the use of synthetic emulsifying agents present in a vitamin preparation which was administered to the new-born babies. They are not sure that it was the emulsifying agent or not, but they have called attention to the fact that when they changed from the preparation containing this synthetic emulsifying agent to the same vitamins without that particular material, the incidence went from 30 to 40 per cent blindness down to less than 1 per cent.



When benzene hexachloride (BHC), one of the newer insecticides was introduced, only good fortune prevented many cases of serious illness. A few years ago New Jersey farmers sprayed BHC on potatoes to combat pests that were resistant to DDT. Housewives found nothing wrong with the raw potatoes they bought; but when the potatoes were boiled, they emitted a musty odor which made them wholly inedible, and the crop had to be dumped. This was lucky, for benzene hexachloride is a chronic poison for men as well as insects.

Consider also Selocide, a selenium insect spray marketed by a Minneapolis concern. Selenium and its compounds are highly toxic; as little as three parts per million added to the food of rats produces cirrhosis of the liver. When a selenium compound is sprayed on fruit trees, according to the F. D. A., it can cause trouble in two ways. First, there is the selenium residue on the fruit itself, which may of course be washed off; and, second, there is the selenium which falls on the ground, builds up in the soil, is absorbed through the roots, and is carried to the interior of the fruit, where it cannot be washed off.

The F. D. A. issued its first warning against selenium

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sprays as early as 1939. It notified the manufacturer of Selocide in 1942, in 1943, and again in 1947. Yet according to F. D. A. witnesses before the Delaney committee, Selocide is still marketed as a fruit spray for killing mites.

THE Delaney committee hearings have already shown not only that the F. D. A. needs a larger budget and more vigor but that there is a dangerous loophole in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Under the present law, witnesses have testified, food containing potentially injurious chemicals can be seized only if shipped in interstate commerce, and by then it may be too late to avert a tragedy. Moreover, if the F. D. A. seizes a food shipment, it must be in a position to prove in court that the food is in fact adulterated or injurious or otherwise in violation of the law. In the case of many new chemicals being added to foodstuffs, the required scientific evidence does not yet exist. Such doubtful cases, says the F. D. A., should be resolved in favor of the consumer rather than, as is done at present, in favor of the food processor.

In the field of drugs the 1938 law gave the F. D. A. an effective weapon for handling doubtful cases. Before a new drug can be marketed, the manufacturer must file a "new-drug application" with the F. D. A., presenting evidence that when used as directed the drug will be safe for human consumption, and other relevant data. If the evidence submitted is satisfactory, the application is granted in sixty days. If for any reason the F. D. A. is not satisfied, the registration of the new drug may be suspended until adequate evidence is submitted. In the twelve years since the new-drug provision was enacted, more than 7,500 such applications have been filed. Only about 5,000 have become effective—presumptive evidence that 2,500 doubtful drugs have been kept off the market.

What is needed, says the F. D. A., is a similar clause governing new chemicals in foods. And it is supported in this proposal by powerful allies. One witness before the Delaney committee who urged a new-chemicals-in-food clause was Charles Wesley Dunn, representing the Grocery Manufacturers of America. Mr. Dunn is the recognized dean of food and drug lawyers; among his other clients are the American Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association—which opposed the new-drug clause in 1938 but apparently is satisfied with it now—and the Beech Nut Packing Company. Representatives of various medical, scientific, and consumer organizations have also advocated this addition to the law.

Unfortunately, with reform measures making but slow progress in Washington these days, the likelihood of legislation this year is slight. As a select committee, the Delaney committee cannot report out legislation but can only make "recommendations," which must then run the usual gamut of consideration by the standing committees of Congress. Hampered by its small budget, the committee has limited its hearings chiefly to testimony for and against the new-chemicals-in-food clause. But there are other aspects of the food-safety problem which need to be explored.

There is, for example, the question why the "residues" clause of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 is not more vigorously applied. This clause provides in effect that the F. D. A. may set a maximum tolerance for any poison or deleterious substance added to foods, and greater use of it could end many of the evils at which the "new chemicals in food" clause is aimed. Yet although it has been in force for twelve years, the F. D. A. to date has set a maximum tolerance for only one chemical, fluorine. Hearings have been held on tolerances for DDT and other insecticides since 1950, but they have a long way to go before actual regulations are worked out and enforced.

Why do F. D. A. hearings take so long? Does the agency need a larger staff? Should its procedures be modified? Should it have the power to subpoena witnesses and not rely on voluntary witnesses—chiefly industry spokesmen who fill the record with thousands of pages of redundant evidence? These are questions which a more vigorous investigating committee would surely have gone into.

The "standard of identity" provision of the 1938 act, which empowers the F. D. A. to set standards for our basic foodstuffs, should also enable the F. D. A. to achieve with respect to foods for which standards are in effect precisely what it proposes to achieve by means of a "new chemicals" clause. It can admit into a standard only those chemicals which have been proved to possess neither acute nor chronic toxicity; and once a standard has been promulgated, no food processor may add any new chemical to the food without first obtaining an amendment to the standard. A number of foods have been standardized, but for many others work on establishing standards has not even begun. The task, under current F. D. A. procedures, is gargantuan. For example, hearings on bread have been held off and on for the past decade; the record runs to more than 18,000 pages; yet the standard is only now being promulgated. It is perhaps unfortunate that concentration on the proposed new-chemicals provision has distracted the attention of the Delaney committee from these other avenues of inquiry.

The new-drug provision was enacted into law only after more than 100 lives were lost through the recklessness of a manufacturer who marketed sulfanilimide dissolved in a poisonous solvent, diethylene glycol. Then Congress acted without further delay. The present Congress has an opportunity to act before a large-scale tragedy forces its hand.

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Medicine, Religion, and Irish Politics

BY GRIFFIN BARRY

London, June 14

IRISH politics came alive in the spring, after a long period of apathy; no ideas exportable beyond the parishes have sprouted in the country for a generation. Nineteenth-century Irishmen set off a train of consequences which, culminating in Easter Week and the civil war, remade the British Empire into the cooperating sovereign nations of the Commonwealth. Afterward the Irish had to turn into reality the ideas for which men had died—independence and democracy. It has been a lonely assignment. Ireland has disappeared from the news in the post-war years except when it has raised the hardly heeded cry to end partition.

One aspect of the Irish democracy has hampered it from the start. The constitution, framed in 1922 and adopted by plebiscite fifteen years later, gives the Roman Catholic church "a special position as guardian of the faith of the majority." The family possesses "rights" that are "superior to all positive law." On this doctrinal basis the Irish have been working out "Catholic democracy."

In property relations laissez faire governs. The church leaves that field to the politicians, of whom the influential are Catholic. "We are content to legislate for eternity," a learned priest told me. He meant, of course, by controlling education. Few non-Catholic schools are found in Ireland, though nothing in the law suppresses them. The exception is Trinity College in Dublin, which still dispenses a mellow classicism in College Green, even to some Catholic students, who must obtain a dispensation from their bishop to attend.

Protestants flock to the professions; formerly the ruling class, they have kept their property but are barred from national politics and have small outlet for their civic instincts. The judiciary contains only a "safe" fraction, in view of the danger of Protestant decisions in the matter of family welfare. Protestant physicians are more numerous.

In 1945 a number of Irish doctors, Protestant and Catholic, were drawn to an idea which had been imported from Britain—governmental provision of free medical treatment. To the church the idea gave off an odor of heresy. Yet Ireland had the highest infant death rate in Europe—83 per 1,000, or nearly treble that of England and Wales. Since 1900 those countries had nearly halved their rates, but Ireland's was still 75 per cent of the 1900 figure. A few Irish pediatricians have good international reputations, and many of the social workers who inspect the tuberculosis-breeding slums of Irish cities are well trained, but they are all subject to the rule of a priestly hierarchy which refuses to admit that modern medicine is a lay function.

Seligson

Dr. Noel Browne

De Valera, who had disobeyed the bishops in continuing the civil war until the moment when he could set up the Free State, was well aware of the church's attitude toward the care of the sick, but at the end of 1947 his government forced through the Dail an enabling act providing health service on the British model—including health education for mothers and children and state-administered and possibly state-supported gynecological care. In response, the hierarchy published a warning letter and then instituted a lawsuit seeking to establish that unless the act had the approval of the spiritual authorities it was "repugnant" to the constitution. Shortly afterward, while the judges were delaying their decision, the De Valera government fell.

Younger men in Costello's new coalition government promised to revive the health scheme. The name of one of them, Sean MacBride, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had a certain glamour for the older Irish: his father had fallen in the civil war, and his mother, Maude Gonne, had been the lovely symbol of Irish revolt. For the post of Minister of Health, MacBride proposed his protégé, Dr. Noel Browne, a Catholic graduate of Trinity College only twenty-nine years old. On the day after he was elected to the Dail, Dr. Browne entered the Cabinet.

Browne first set to work to implement the non-controversial provisions of the health act. Within eighteen months he had ended queueing for tuberculosis treatment, provided sanitoria for tuberculosis patients and financial help for their dependents, started cancer and

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nutritional surveys, and with an initial fund made up of Irish-sweepstakes donations had begun a $56,000,000 hospital program that would give Ireland one of the best services in the world. By 1949 infant mortality had fallen by 30 per 1,000, and a further drop was indicated for 1950. To lower this rate still more Browne took the step that was to cost him his ministerial head. He announced a system of mother-and-child aid, available to all without a "means test," which would include obstetrical and gynecological care for mothers and health education for them and for their children. This was to be supported by general taxes.

THE hierarchy bided its time until last October, when Browne was asked to call at the palace of the Archbishop of Dublin. His proposals, he was told, were contrary to Catholic teaching, to the "rights" of the family, the church, the medical profession, and voluntary institutions. A written aide-memoire criticized state interference in a sphere "so delicate and concerned with morals as that of gynecology and obstetrics" and objected that families whose income allowed them to pay for medical treatment would have their self-reliance undermined. A free health service, the Archbishop pointed out, "deprived 90 per cent of parents of their rights on the pretext of relieving a necessitous or negligent 10 per cent." According to one bishop, the scheme "would constitute a ready-made instrument of totalitarian aggression."

Browne replied that at least 30 per cent of the population were already receiving free medical aid, public or private, because they lacked the means to pay, and that a considerable number outside this category could not afford care without inordinate sacrifice. He assured the bishops, furthermore, that education in the "delicate sphere" would be confined to telling expectant mothers about such matters as pre-natal diet and "smoking habits." Gynecological care would consist of dealing with mismanaged pregnancies, and the treatment would conform to Catholic principles. ("There is the additional safeguard," Browne later noted in a letter to the hierarchy, "that unlike the neighboring island, this country is predominantly Catholic, and its medical profession is predominantly Catholic also.") The doctor-patient relation, he insisted, would not be impaired; nobody was compelled to use the scheme; and despite the opposition of the Irish Medical Association, he had received enough assurances from private physicians to be convinced that the project would receive widespread support. Since no means test was required for other care provided under the act, no new principle was involved.

When his interview with the Archbishop was over, Browne believed, he said later, that he had won his case. He advertised the plan in the newspapers, published a pamphlet to explain its operation to the public, and spoke for it over the radio. The bill was to be introduced in the Dail in the spring.

After a period of tolerant silence the Archbishop summoned Prime Minister Costello to the episcopal palace. He had been pleased to note, he said, that "no evidence has been supplied . . . that the mother-and-child health scheme enjoys the support of the government." The Cabinet, in fact, had not as yet either approved or rejected the plan officially, and its Republican members, including MacBride, appeared to be losing their enthusiasm for it. Now, after meeting, the Cabinet informed the Minister of Health that his scheme would not be indorsed unless he satisfied the hierarchy.

Browne assembled support from trade unions and social workers. He still refused to believe he had not convinced the bishops, although a letter from the hierarchy finally made its position clear. A week later he was summarily dismissed, not by the Prime Minister, who alone is responsible for his ministers under the constitution, but by Sean MacBride. "For a year the Minister of Health has not been normal," MacBride told the electorate. The Prime Minister let the constitutional slip pass because Dr. Browne was "temporarily unfit for the post of Cabinet minister." If this was a poor diagnosis of Dr. Browne's mental balance by two self-styled psychiatrists, it proved to be an even graver miscalculation of political sentiment, for within three weeks the government, weakened by desertions from the leadership of MacBride, lost its majority.

In the elections of May 30, in spite of the opposition of the church, Browne triumphed: Costello's party lost eight out of ten seats in the Dail, MacBride barely winning in his own district, while Browne, running as an Independent, was handily reelected. The coalition obtained only sixty-four seats to sixty-nine for De Valera's Fianna Fail. Everything hinged on the Independents. On June 13 Costello lost the Premiership to De Valera by five votes.

The public-health plan is still a live issue. An English Catholic, upholding the church view, wrote to the Manchester *Guardian* as follows: "The bishops were expounding that theory of the state on which the Irish constitution is based. . . . In this matter of safeguarding health the distinction is between state association, which is dangerous, and private voluntary association, which is laudable. . . . Catholic sociology still speaks with enough authority in some parts of the world to see that its warnings are acted upon." The rate at which babies die in Ireland will be a warning of another kind. But the church does not give up easily, and it may take much more than Dr. Browne's temporary victory to put the mother-and-child health scheme into operation.

Erin's political quiescence has been broken in the quick Irish way. The political situation will be unstable for some time to come, and things will be livelier.

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The Negro Teacher's Dilemma

BY JOHN S. LASH

THE Negro college professor is coming to be regarded as a split personality by professional crusaders for Negro advancement. When he obtains an appointment to the faculty of a white college or university, especially if he is the first Negro engaged, he is hailed as an example of what his race can accomplish. But when he points to the injustices that educational "integration"—as instituted under recent judicial decisions—has sometimes brought with it, he becomes suspect as a special pleader for racial segregation, a protector of a vested interest in an undemocratic system.

In a recent article in *School and Society*, for example, Virgil A. Clift, a Negro college professor, declares that segregation in education must be ended, whether or not "Negro teachers . . . become a 'vested interest' group for purely selfish reasons." The Negro professors at a municipal teachers' college have been rebuked by leading newspapers in a large border city for their "opposition" to a merger of their institution with a white municipal college. And Negro novelists are tending to portray the Negro college professor as playing a somewhat less than heroic role in the struggle to abolish segregation in education.

It must be admitted that the integration of white and Negro colleges may restrict the market for Negro college teachers. The dual system entails some duplication of instructional staffs, and integration may bring dismissals. The training and educational experience of Negro college teachers, however, are not as inconsiderable as is often assumed, and it is to be hoped that their qualifications will be recognized.

Negroes with the Ph.D. degree are not common, but the number of Negro college teachers with an M.A. compares favorably with the number of white college teachers holding that degree, a fact established by the National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes (1942). Since the middle thirties, when existing Negro institutions began to open graduate departments, there has been a marked increase in graduate study among Negroes. The professional experience of Negro teachers averaged 8.59 years in 1942 and is steadily increasing. Their terms of service have grown longer since the establishment of equal salaries and tenure protection in Negro colleges. This means that even if Negro college teachers cannot boast distinguished pedagogical achievement as a group, their professional qualifications are such that their claims on teaching positions cannot be summarily dismissed.

Some of the institutions now serving Negro students can be utilized in programs of integrated higher education. If they could not, the current legal claim of most Southern states—that they provide "equal" educational facilities for the two races—would be false. In those institutions which are retained, nothing in the theory of educational integration demands a total replacement of their staffs.

Most thoughtful Negro college teachers agree that employment opportunities for them depend on the extent to which racism dictates employment policies. The right of Negro students to equal educational opportunity is legally safeguarded but not the right of teachers to equal employment opportunity. There is evidence, however, that the policies of white or mixed institutions on the employment of Negro teachers are undergoing redefinition. The presence of a Negro instructor on the faculty of an Eastern, Midwestern, or Western institution is no longer a very rare occurrence. Of course, employment opportunities are much fewer in sections of the country which have traditions of racial segregation in education and which categorically oppose efforts to guarantee fair-employment practices in any occupation.

The experience of Negro teachers in states which have begun to integrate white and Negro education is not hopeful. When integration at the higher level closed down a municipal college for Negroes in Kentucky, the staff failed to obtain employment in the integrated institution. In the common schools of lower Ohio, Indiana, Arizona, and New Jersey, all areas in which integration has been recently effected, Negro elementary and secondary school teachers have with difficulty retained a token representation on the faculties of the integrated schools. School boards have shown remarkable ingenuity in eliminating the Negro teachers.

Teachers in Negro colleges must certainly anticipate that the extension of integration to higher education in the South will endanger their jobs. Their real "vested interest," however, is in democratic integration at all levels. And when a system of teacher selection which minimizes racial factors is evolved for integrated institutions, it is not likely that Negro teachers will make any racist plea for the protection of their interests. As long as racial discrimination in employment practices persists, it is only natural for them to take reasonable action to assure job opportunities.

Negro college teachers helped to produce the Sweatts, the Fishers, the McCreadies who form the vanguard of Negro students enrolling in white universities. These pioneering students will not be regarded by their former teachers as monsters who are destroying their creators but as young people whose social conscience does not permit them to accept segregation in education.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Church, the State, and Political Freedom

COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY, AND CATHOLIC POWER. By Paul Blanshard. The Beacon Press. $3.50.

THE WALL OF SEPARATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE. By Conrad H. Moehlman. The Beacon Press. $3.

READERS of this review will all be aware of the important issue raised by Paul Blanshard in his earlier book, "American Freedom and Catholic Power." Most of them will also know of the existence of his new book, listed above, and the controversy that it has stirred up.

The second book under review, Conrad Moehlman's "The Wall of Separation Between Church and State"—the phrase is quoted from Thomas Jefferson—has attracted far less attention. It indulges in no comparison between the Vatican and the Kremlin, and it is concerned with a somewhat narrower range of issues than Mr. Blanshard has treated. Its position and argument, however, on the vital issue of separation of church and state put its author squarely and emphatically on Mr. Blanshard's side in the current controversy. Dr. Moehlman, in a careful historical analysis, presents a convincing refutation of the position argued by J. M. O'Neill and adopted by the Roman Catholic bishops in their pronouncement of November, 1948, to the effect that the First Amendment to the Constitution did not mean the kind of separation of church and state which the Supreme Court said it meant, and that the amendment was intended merely to guarantee just distribution of government funds among existing denominations.

Dr. Moehlman not only makes his case historically but presents an argument for its excellence in our own times. Thus he discusses the public-school question under the head, The Splendor of Public Education. He quotes the *Christian Science Monitor* with approval: ". . . the Christian conscience in society, not the Christian church in politics, holds the hope for the future." He concludes that Roman Catholicism is not winning the cultural race here and that Protestantism is not defeated.

In substance if not in form Dr. Moehlman's book is as controversial as Mr. Blanshard's, and the issue he raises is one which is likely to have a growing importance in American politics. Nevertheless, the present heated controversy centers about Mr. Blanshard.

It is that controversy rather than just the book which I want to discuss. I have been Paul Blanshard's friend for thirty years and during the twenties and early thirties worked closely with him in many tasks which involved us not in any controversy with the Catholic church but only in opposition to the Ku Klux Klan. I do not think my friendship with Mr. Blanshard impairs my judgment, and my knowledge of him should give weight to my statement that he did not enter this controversy with a desire for notoriety and quick success, or out of hatred of religion, or from any form of bigotry. I think he has been more successful in this book than in his first in avoiding even the suspicion of a superficial support of nationalism against a religion which seeks universality. Taking the book paragraph by paragraph, the reader will be impressed by the care with which the author qualifies his judgments both of communism and Catholicism and the praise he gives to devotion, selflessness, and other qualities in those whom he criticizes. For instance, Mr. Blanshard writes, "There is much to be said for the exalted nobility and high devotion of Catholic monasticism, but it cannot be denied that the life of a Catholic religious is almost devoid of personal freedom." He makes his comparison of the secular religion of communism and the most powerful of Christian churches under various heads, such as "thought control," "management of truth," "strategy of penetration," and so forth.

Mr. Blanshard's critics do not refute his general statements concerning the doctrines and practices either of the Kremlin or of the Vatican. The most they can say is that in the church's long history there have been some ambiguities of statement on the detailed relations of church and state, democracy, and other important issues, ambiguities to which Mr. Blanshard might have given more weight. His critics, in the main, tend to stress two other lines of attack. They say, with varying emphasis, that similarities between the Vatican and the Kremlin should not be discussed at a time when we need the help of the church in the struggle against aggressive communism. They bring a second charge that Mr. Blanshard is a secularist, a believer in political democracy, the philosophical base for which he has not sufficiently examined. The first criticism has been made by men who themselves are irreligious in a sense that Mr. Blanshard is not. Their one passion, however, is successful resistance to communism, and here they welcome the church as an ally, much as some of them would welcome Franco or Chiang Kai-shek.

I myself believe that the Roman Catholic and every other church with a high moral code has an important and legitimate role to play in the struggle against an aggressive Communist tyranny. How that role should be played by the church is the important question. Does it merely oppose one authority to another, or does it appeal to conscience and reason?

By no means did Mr. Blanshard invent the idea that there are similarities between the Kremlin and the Vatican. Over a period of years I have been asked repeatedly in forums and elsewhere whether the Vatican was not also a totalitarian power in the sense in which I was criticizing totalitarianism. It may actually be a service to the cause of reason against bigotry to have a responsible author bring the problem into the light and give us the available evidence. It is at least possible that consciously or unconsciously Catholics, both laymen and priests, will, as one result of the controversy, be more anxious to magnify those teachings of the church which serve a democratic society and to minimize its elements of authoritarian dictation.

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In answering questions concerning the Vatican and the Kremlin I have replied that I have found no parallel in Communist theory or practice to the excellence of some of the papal encyclicals on peace and social justice; that the Catholic church in theory and certainly in practice limits the area in which the Pope is infallible, while Stalin is infallible in everything; and finally that in practice, at least in a country like America, the Catholic church permits its adherents a freedom of expression and action inconceivable to the Politburo. Both Mr. Blanshard and Dr. Moehlman argue that Alfred E. Smith's celebrated statement on the nature of his loyalty to his country and his church did not conform to church dogma. It should also be noted that his statement went unrebuked officially and, that he died within the church. The late Justice Frank Murphy was an ardent defender of American civil liberty and wrote or concurred in opinions—for instance, concerning liberty of propaganda for Jehovah's Witnesses—which must have been displeasing to the hierarchy. No discipline was meted out to him, and he died within the church of which he was a devoted adherent. Let apologists for the Kremlin point to any comparable cases in their ranks. There is, actually or implicitly, in both the books under review a recognition of such facts, but I think Mr. Blanshard could have strengthened his case by emphasizing them.

Neither author goes into the underlying philosophic problem of freedom and authority in church and state. Quite rightly for their purposes, they accept the value of democracy as it is practiced —not always perfectly—in America. In effect they say: Look around and tell us what is better. In his argument Mr. Blanshard criticizes religious dogmas when they are logically relevant to his theme. Hence arises an inescapable difficulty. Men, good men, on both sides of the religious controversy do not deal with dogmas piecemeal. For various philosophical and psychological reasons they feel constrained to accept or reject highly authoritarian creeds and the churches that interpret them. If they accept them they must incline to accept at least the moral intervention of their church in social affairs. Politics as well as religion is concerned with matters of morals on which a church claiming the keys to heaven must speak. It will always be a matter for judgment when and how it should speak.

To the problems that thus arise there is no easy and automatic solution. American history suggests that they may be worked out in practice on terms consistent with political freedom and individual responsibility. I for one do not want to forsake that way.

NORMAN THOMAS

Whitman: the Danish View

WALT WHITMAN. By Frederik Schyberg. Translated from the Danish by Evie Allison Allen. Introduction by Gay Wilson Allen. Columbia University Press. $5.

FREDERIK SCHYBERG was a Danish journalist and drama critic who died in 1950. While a member of the Danish underground during the Nazi occupation, he gave two radio speeches on Walt Whitman as a defender of democratic values. His interest in Whitman had been of long standing, for he had published in 1933 the book of which the present volume is a translation. Schyberg was obviously a highly intelligent critic and a profound student of America and American literature. His book is a valuable contribution to Whitman criticism.

A first chapter on America in 1850 is rather perfunctory, being based somewhat too exclusively on the observations of the Swedish writer Frederika Bremer, who visited this country in 1849-51. A second chapter treats Whitman's early years with a sane circumspection and is thoroughly aware of the myths Whitman so studiedly propagated about himself, beginning with the story that when Lafayette visited Brooklyn, he lifted little Walt, aged seven, up to his saddle and kissed him. Schyberg is doubtless right to look with so extremely jaundiced an eye at all the claims, including those of Whitman, that have been made for the "New Orleans" period of 1848 as a crucial episode in the poet's life. It is probable that Whitman brought back from New Orleans a smattering of French but no memories of "a rich and prominent lady of the South" or of children illicitly begot. Another dim period in Whitman's career, one of those concerning which he would never speak or would speak only cryptically, is the years just before 1860. Schyberg judges this "Bohemian period" to be of the greatest importance in understanding Whitman. He concludes that the Calamus poems and "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" are "plain evidence of a tragic love affair, probably about 1859."

Whatever the facts, there is no doubt that Whitman came through experiences very dangerous and profound to produce the third edition of "Leaves of Grass" in 1860, with all that poignant talk of loneliness, darkness, and death which is in such striking contrast to the buoyancy and arrogance of the first edition (1855) and the second (1856). By 1860, as Schyberg says, Whitman, exhorting us to look for him under our boot soles, symbolizes himself not as a leaf of grass but as a "chance bit of wreckage thrown up on the shores of existence." The "Bohemian period" is thus as important, and as hard to grasp concretely, as the years just before 1855, which transformed Whitman from the journalist and writer of dubious romances into the poet of "Song of Myself."

The most valuable part of Schyberg's book is the long central chapter which traces the evolution of "Leaves of Grass" from edition to edition in the light of what is known or may be reasonably conjectured about the poet's life. This chapter treats such general matters as Whitman's attempts to bring thematic order into the whole under the "wander motif" or by rearranging and rewriting poems. It offers such suggestive ideas as that in Drum Taps "the 'I' is no longer he who 'is' but he who sees and relates," and that "Whitman, like Hegel, was really a natural conservative."

Even so fine an Americanist as Schyberg cannot help patronizing us a bit. He mollifies his European colleagues' indignation over Whitman's having written favorable reviews of his own poems by observing that after all Whitman is the most American of Americans and that this need be his only apology. He cannot help sometimes thinking of the poet (but who can?) as a kind of wonderful, brilliant, irresponsible child whose utterances are among the most "sublime" in world literature. And when you examine that word "sublime"

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you find it means engagingly boisterous, aggressively free, democratic and spiritual, charmingly aspiring and grandiose. Mr. Schyberg has a weakness for this engaging Americanism, and sometimes, in praising Whitman, he gives us the impression that he is thinking of a kind of barbarous and bardic Daisy Miller, rather than of a poet—a very fallible one—among poets.

Schyberg's last chapter, on Whitman in World Literature, is not so solidly argued as the long section on "Leaves of Grass," though it contains much useful information. The author's knowledge knows no national borders, and it is unlikely that another Whitman critic will soon appear to write sentences such as "Like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Almquist, Hugo, Carducci, and Johannes V. Jensen, the poet pauses before the animals." We learn that Whitman figured as "a sexual Zwischenstufe" in a German morals scandal of 1907, that Nazi propagandists in Denmark represented Whitman as a Hitlerite, and that German editions of his poetry have tended to suppress the homosexual poems but not the heterosexual, while British editions have tended to do the opposite. Some of Schyberg's comparisons of Whitman with other writers—such as the Persian Rumi, Angelus Silesius, and Franz Werfel—are pretty vague. Some are meaningless: "Like Whitman, Hugo is all-encompassing in his poems (so are Blake and Wergeland)." But several of the relationships he traces are distinctly worth tracing—as, for example, the influence of Whitman on Rilke, Gide, and Laforgue, the latter of whom translated "A Woman Waits for Me" and "O Star of France."

RICHARD CHASE

Shaw's Political Novel

THE TROUBLED AIR. By Irwin Shaw. Random House. $3.75.

IN HIS brisk, journalistic second novel Irwin Shaw describes the plight of a politically liberal radio director who finds himself embroiled in a purge of Communists and fellow-travelers touched off by a super-patriotic magazine. With impressive circumstantiality he demonstrates what a great many people have been suspecting for some time: that radicalism is no longer fashionable on the air waves and can, as a matter of fact, spin careers downward to economic ruin and suicide. The story has the tantalizing suggestiveness of a *roman à clef* and in its breathless argumentation can well serve as an index to the political anxieties of our time, but the speech-making is easy and tedious, after all, and Shaw's rather arbitrary handling of motives makes "The Troubled Air" something less than a literary achievement.

One overhears numerous conversations as Clement Archer, the hero of the novel, interviews the five accused members of his staff, the sponsor of his program, "University Town," and other harrying or harried characters. One learns that Manfred Pokorny, composer of incidental music for the program, faces deportation to Vienna because of a brief flirtation with communism in the 1920's; that Atlas, the Negro comic, cherishes a hatred for white people that transcends mere politics; that Frances Motherwell, a gold-plated beauty, finds it hard to distinguish between politics and sex; that Alice Weller, a fading, bit-part actress, hastens her descent to oblivion by taking part in a Communist-supported peace rally; and that Victor Herres, Archer's closest friend, joins the ranks of the Communist Party out of an overweening intellectual pride. Designed as dramatic scenes, the chapters consist almost wholly of dialogue. For verisimilitude Shaw relies on the accuracy of this talk and on painful, often trivial detail that disturbs the reader into recognitions of a kind of reality.

Certainly the surfaces are conveyed more ably than the motives. It seems incredible, for example, that Archer should be unaware, after fifteen years of intimate association, that his friend Herres is a Communist. Exercising astonishing self-control, the latter makes no attempt to influence Archer's political thinking or to recruit him for the party's various agencies and drives. Equally unbelievable is the characterization of the beauty, Frances Motherwell, whose nymphomania is a convenient cliché masking male resentment of women in public affairs. An actress of her reported sexual potential needs no political party to assist her to a bed. The behavior of O'Neill, the advertising-agency representative, of Sandler, the sponsor, and of the script writer, Bar-

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bante, cannot bear any closer scrutiny. All these people seem to understand the exigencies of the plot and out of loyalty to the author perform their assigned parts deftly but without inner engagement.

That the political novel is difficult to shape has been the discovery of many writers since 1945. There is always the danger of oversimplifying human desire and of losing the thickness of actual experience. Few people are primarily politicians, the cold war notwithstanding. Shaw is aware of the problem, of course, and meets it by introducing such subsidiary themes as the pregnancy of Archer's wife and the sexual awakening of his teen-age daughter. But since the fusion is incomplete, the secondary elements seem irrelevant, posing still another problem. So exacting is the form of the political novel that for successful examples one must still turn to Dostoevsky, Kafka, and Malraux.

STEPHEN STEPANCHEV

What the Roll Call Shows

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD. By Thomas R. Amlie. Capital City Press. $10.

IN APPLYING the sage advice of Al Smith, Tom Amlie has come up with a convincing indictment of the Republican Party as being "more completely reactionary than . . . the conservative party in any other parliamentary country during the past seventy-five years." This conclusion, based on analysis of 650 roll-call votes in Congress over a period of twenty years, will neither surprise nor alarm students of American politics. It should be an eye-opener to the ordinary Republican voter who likes to think of his party as one of sensible conservatism as opposed to the "experimental" liberalism of the Democratic Party.

"Let's Look at the Record" sets out to demolish the general assumption that Congressional "liberals" and "conservatives" are lined up fairly evenly on either side of a theoretical center line of politics. On the evidence of research into the voting pattern of Democrats and Republicans in the past Congresses, Mr. Amlie asserts that the line of demarcation "is drawn so far to the right that fully 75 per cent of the American people would identify themselves as being to the left of the line that separates liberals from conservatives in the United States Congress." The hopeful corollary of this, concludes the former Congressman from Wisconsin, is that "if the people knew the facts, they would retire three-fourths of the present members of the United States Congress at the next election." The expendable three-fourths make up the coalition of conservatives and reactionaries of both parties which today control the Congress.

There may be basis for disagreement with Amlie's percentage evaluation of the present Congress, but there can be no quarrel with the usefulness of the exhaustive research which has gone into this project of presenting the facts to the people. "Let's Look at the Record" should be a required sourcebook for anyone who works in the field of politics —whether as party committeeman or as trade unionist engaged in political action. It is well to recognize the limitations of "record votes" as a complete guide to Congressional behavior, but given the cloak of secrecy about committee votes and cloakroom agreements, this compendium of recorded votes, accurately and effectively selected to reflect the conflict between conservatism and liberalism, is an invaluable encyclopedia of political ammunition.

VIOLET M. GUNTHER

Books in Brief

AN INTRODUCTION TO SHAKESPEARE. By Marchette Chute. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.25. Miss Chute has retold simply and succinctly the story of Shakespeare as an actor and playwright, evidently aiming at younger readers than those for whom she composed her "Shakespeare of London." The resulting primer sacrifices few of the qualities of that deservedly popular book.

UNITE OR PERISH. By Paul Reynaud. Simon and Schuster. $3. An energetically argued proposal for organic European unity in political, military, and economic affairs. As usual, M. Reynaud's presentation is digressive, repetitive, and not free from personal spite. What he seems to want is a unified European army (Germans included) under a single Defense Ministry, a European customs union, and a single democratically elected European Parliament. Without minimizing the difficulties inherent in its accomplishment or exaggerating the progress so far made, M. Reynaud indicates the great advantages that would proceed from such an organization. To the disadvantages expressed in the objections of the European Socialists and the British he gives far too short a shrift. His plea is a special one, but one that nevertheless appears to be in the final best interests of Europe and the Western world.

THE GENIUS OF EUROPE. By Havelock Ellis. Rinehart and Company. $3. Six discursive compositions on the dominant temperaments in England, Russia, France, Spain, and Germany. Unpolished and out of date, the essays are packed with fact and reflection. But though one was written as late as 1939, by and large the resemblance to a period piece embodying the good-will, massive knowledge, and favorite superstitions of the early twentieth century is already unmistakable.

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Drama Note

"COURTIN' TIME" (National Theater) has been a long time getting to Broadway, and it shows the marks of some rather desperate working over. Still, it has a number of pleasant aspects. Joe E. Brown, with his big mouth and his expert miming, carries off his part as a Maine farmer with an old trouper's competence that I always find endearing—though the part is pretty thin and some of the jokes should have been let lie. Billie Worth, as the housekeeper whom the farmer looks right past when he starts searching for a wife, is so attractive that one doesn't believe for a moment in the given situation, but that hardly matters; and she plays with great verve and skill. Then there is Carmen Mathews, who plays the part of the happy spinster with genuine wit. The young lovers—there are four—are much more engaging than usual. Two of them—Gloria Patrice and Peter Conlow—head the very lively dancing troupe.

George Balanchine had charge of the dancing. None of it is important Balanchine, but the one ballet, "Johnny and the Puckwudgies," is effective, and the incidental routines show his touch. The best musical number is "The Sensible Thing to Do" sung by Miss Worth and Earl Williams with movements by Balanchine.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ANOTHER fantastic operation, I would say: the continuing publicity about Landowska and her recording of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, with even Jinx Falkenburg reporting the "high priestess of the harpsichord" in her archly prayerful attitudes about the work that is to be her "last will and testament"; and on the other hand the actual recording—e. g. the latest instalment, with the unrelenting pounding out of Nos. 17 to 24 of Book I which the high priestess offers as divine revelation and I hear as unmitigated murder (RCA Victor).

For magnificent playing of music on the harpsichord get Fernando Valenti's performances of Bach's Toccata in C minor, one of his finest instrumental works, the Toccata in D, another fine work, and the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, of which the Fantasy is impressive (Allegro).

Bach's English Suites Nos. 2 and 3, as played on the harpsichord by Alice Ehlers, I find uninteresting (Allegro).

The Scarlatti Sonatas recorded on the piano by Clara Haskil, most of them unfamiliar, are very fine or made to seem so by her playing, whith—with its sharply contoured articulation and powerful tensions—is her best so far, and the best playing of Scarlatti in years. Her piano is unresonant (Westminster).

Mozart's Sonata K.333, with engaging moments and a startling development in the slow movement, is played beautifully by Lili Kraus. The recorded sound (dubbed from a Parlophone 78) is dull and occasionally distorted and the surface is noisy in the first movement, but sound and surface are better in the other movements. On the same record is the resourcefully written but inconsequential Duo K.423 for violin and viola, beautifully played by Szymon Goldberg and Frederick Riddle. Crackling surface (Decca).

In Mozart's fine Sonata K.448 for two pianos the quietly sensitive but strong playing of Demus and Badoura-Skoda (Westminster) is to be preferred to the affected playing of the Iturbis (Victor). Demus and Badoura-Skoda also play a Mozart Andante and Variations K.501 for piano four hands and a J. C. Bach Sonata in G for two pianos that are pleasantly inconsequential; the Iturbis play Chabrier's "Trois Valses Romantiques," of which the third is one of his outstanding pieces and was used by Balanchine in one of the most affecting episodes of "Cotillon."

The Mozart Sonatas K.357, 358, and 381 for piano four hands recorded by Demus and Badoura-Skoda are charming (Westminster).

Except for the occasional excessive *sf* Kurt Appelbaum's playing in the first movement of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 10 No. 3 was so satisfyingly competent that I was unprepared for its disturbing defects in later movements—the lingering over, and separating of, measures which destroyed continuing impetus from one to the next, the violence of crescendos and accents, with mistreatment of the piano that hurt my ear. These defects reappeared in Opus 2, No. 2, Opus 53 ("Waldstein"), in which there was also lack of clarity and precision in passage work, and Opus 111—but least in the second movement of Opus 111, which was played very well. Surfaces were gritty (Westminster).

The Erwin Bodky performances of Mozart pieces on a Stein piano of Mozart's period (Allegro) and the Byron Janis performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 31 No. 2 (Victor) are things to skip.

Of Bach's "The Musical Offering"—one of the works that resulted from his setting himself elaborate technical problems—the opening three-voiced ricercare, the trio sonata, and several canons continue to be uninteresting for me; but I have found canons Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and 10 impressive, and the concluding six-voiced ricercare as always a superb piece of music. The performance by eight strings and winds under Scherchen is good (Westminster).

Vivaldi's Flute Concerto Opus 3 ("Bullfinch") is a rather charming piece in which Philip Kaplan produces big tones with no phraseological inflection that I can hear, and a string orchestra plays stolidly under Attilio Poto. The Cello Sonatas Nos. 2 and 6 have fine slow movements which are superbly played by Samuel Mayes over harpsi-

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chord accompaniments pounded out by Erwin Bodky; the Flute Sonata No. 6 played by Kaplan and Bodky is good; the Pastorale for flute Opus 13 No. 4 is uninteresting (Allegro).

Couperin's Four Concerts Royaux, played by Kaplan, Mayes, and Bodky, I found mostly uninteresting (Allegro).

Engaging works of Mozart: The Violin Sonatas K.304, 305, and 570 well played by Shumsky and Mittman except for the excessively fast minuet movement of K.304; piano sound dull, violin not sweet and clear (Allegro). The Trios, K.502 and 542, excellently played by Ruth Posselt, violin, Samuel Mayes, and Abba Bogin, piano; surfaces gritty (Allegro). The Serenata Notturno K.239, which gets a burly, graceless performance by the Zimbler Sinfonietta that is reproduced with strident and heavy sound; with it Telemann's Suite for flute and strings—pleasant music well played by James Pappoutsakis (Decca).

Haydn's "Seven Last Words of Christ," intended as a series of *Adagio* interludes between the spoken words of a religious service, I again find uninteresting. It is well performed by the Amadeus Quartet, which also plays the engaging *Andante grazioso* and powerful minuet movement of an uncompleted Haydn Quartet Opus 103, and the charming Quartet Opus 3 No. 5, with the famous Serenade that is a remarkable piece of melodic writing (Westminster).

CORRECTION: A sentence in Manny Farber's column on the comic strip, in last week's issue, spoke of humor "of a jaundiced, whip-lashing, Goyaesque type, too sour for articulate emphasis." The last phrase should have read, "too sour for articulate laughs."

CONTRIBUTORS

NORMAN THOMAS is the author of "A Socialist's Faith" and other books.

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department of Columbia University, will publish next fall a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Affront to the Dead

Dear Sirs: An important new work on Dreiser, such as the recently published study by the late F. O. Matthiessen, deserves adequate coverage in *The Nation*. The editors of a magazine seriously concerned with American cultural history would try to assign the book to a good critic with sound judgment. They should at least look for a reviewer who knows his trade: someone willing to read the book and tell what it is about, what it apparently sets out to do, the extent to which it succeeds.

The Nation printed, instead of a review, a fancy little essay larded with irrelevant personal speculation. Its author, Richard Hofstadter, revealed his attitude toward his trade by inventing an imaginary book of his own, instead of carefully reading the real one. His patronizing dismissal of his own fabrication was followed by a bizarre attempt to squeeze Dreiser into some symbol of "the common man thinking." There was no visible effort to understand Dreiser as a significant novelist of uneven performance.

This book received several acceptable reviews based on conscientious reading and honest reporting. That by John Berryman in the Sunday *Times* of March 4 was exceptional. Clearly a discriminating critic, familiar with his field, Berryman gave the completed works of Dreiser and Matthiessen a judicious appraisal which included sympathy and respect.

The Nation should have searched for a reviewer holding comparable standards. Even if its present editors cannot recognize an affront to the dead, they ought to know their current duty to their living readers.

JOHN RACKLIFFE

Boston

Reviewer's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: I hope anyone whose interest is aroused by Mr. Rackliffe's letter will read my review (in *The Nation* of April 28) and Mr. Matthiessen's book. Most discriminating critics will agree that the volume cannot be compared favorably with the rest of Mr. Matthiessen's criticism—which I admire very much. This, indeed, happens to have been Mr. Matthiessen's own view of it, as I learned after my review had been written. The task of a reviewer, as I understand it, is to exercise his own judgment, not to try to anticipate those of others, however competent. Presumably he does his work best if he is free of blinding ideological commitments or fierce personal loyalties. One of his elementary aims, as it is of everyone who deals with ideas, is to experience differences of opinion without losing his composure.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

New York

Art and Ideology

Dear Sirs: It may interest the readers of Peter de Mendelssohn's article, Bert Brecht Produces an Opera, in *The Nation* of May 19 to learn that both composer Paul Dessau and author Bert Brecht did respond to the pressure of the East German authorities, and that they have decided to revise their opera "The Trial of Lucullus" in accordance with the expressed wishes of Eastern ideologists.

Strange as it may seem to Western minds, such revisions are sometimes made voluntarily. I discussed this once with the celebrated painter, Diego Rivera. When I asked him whether he would yield to the request to delete from his murals figures who are no longer in sympathy with the Soviet Union, he immediately answered in the affirmative; he showed he was perfectly willing to make such a *sacrificium intellectus*, just as Prokofieff and Shostakovich yielded to the totalitarian authorities in Moscow.

MANFRED GEORGE
Editor, *Aufbau*

New York

Another Loyalty Oath

Dear Sirs: When Governor Peterson signed the public-employees'-oath law on May 22, Nebraska became the newest in the parade of states requiring extraordinary test oaths.

Unlike some others, the Nebraska oath is an omnibus document that carefully avoids use of the word "communism." After an introductory section in which the employee swears that he "will not advocate nor become a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of this state by force or violence," there

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are different sections for different classes of public employees. Among other things, teachers are required to inculcate in their pupils "love and devotion to the policies and institutions that have made America the finest country in the world in which to live and . . . opposition to all organizations and activities that would destroy our present form of government."

Many of the state's teachers believe that swearing to teach such naive and chauvinistic theories would be incompatible with objectivity and the search for truth but have nevertheless used every care to conceal their opposition. The Nebraska State Education Association was able to make some alterations in the original bill but would have no part in opposing the oath *per se* or in its present form. Still less vocal was the University of Nebraska chapter of the American Association of University Professors. The few individuals who undertook even the mildest forms of peaceful protest were regarded by their fellow-educators as impractical martyrs or unstable radicals.

The oath was approved by only twenty-three to thirteen—in Nebraska's unicameral legislature twenty-two votes are required for passage. Thus even a small amount of organized opposition might have been effective.

For fear of discharge, for fear of opposing public opinion, Nebraska's teachers have declined to protect their professed ideals. Unless teachers in other states defend more valiantly the "principles of education" they have studied so hard and spoken of so glibly, democracy can, indeed, be destroyed piecemeal.

WARREN WESTON
Chaldron, Nebraska

Threat or Demagogy

Dear Sirs: Because two lines were omitted in my article The Gaullist Threat in *The Nation* of June 9, I was made to say: "He [De Gaulle] is against the Communists because they are allowing France to be enslaved by the United States."

No, even De Gaulle stops short of accusing the Communists of that! The passage should have read: "He is against the Communists because they are 'inviting a Russian invasion'; he is also against the 'parties' (i.e., the government parties) because they are allowing France to be enslaved by the United States." The latter was, as I said, largely demagogy.

ALEXANDER WERTH
Paris, France

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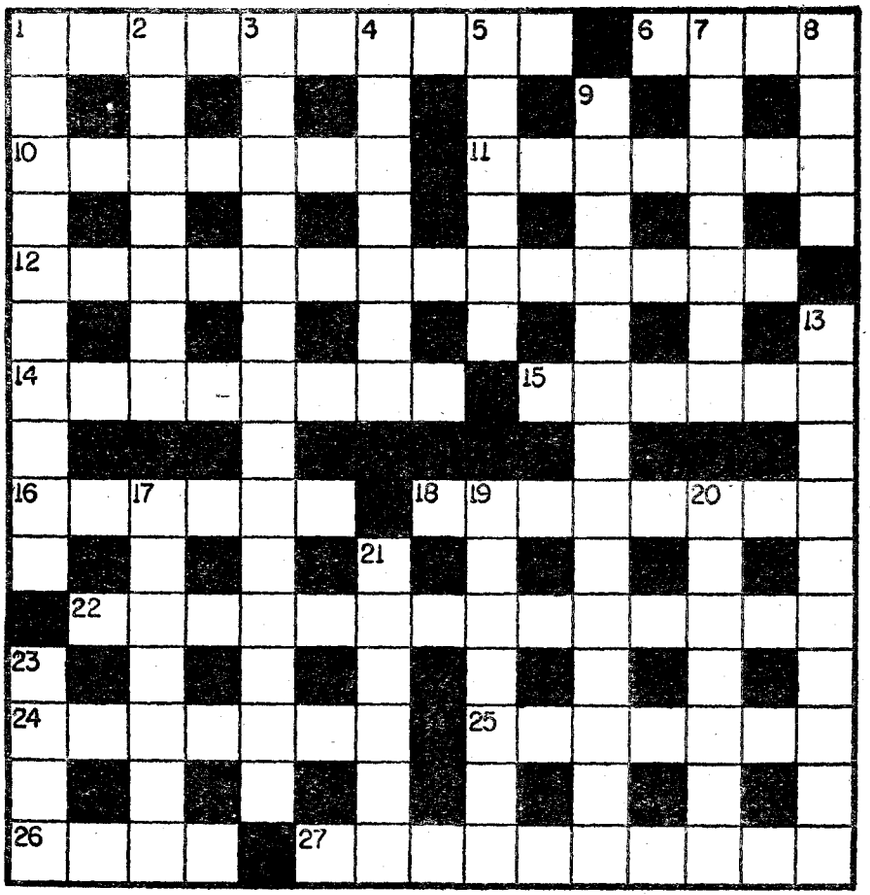
Crossword Puzzle No. 418

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A good judge should be, as a precaution! (4, 2, 4)
6 Once a high wood literally, still a high wood. (4)
10 A series of rings. (7)
11 Goes over like St. Andrew's and St. George's, for example. (7)
12 Figures on being reasonable? (8, 6)
14 Peer's wife made a brass one. (8)
15 Full many a flower is born to blush so. (6)
16. Cold in the chest? That's the implication. (6)
18 A preposition is such a little thing! (8)
22 Franco's whim, or Rimski-Korsakov's. (7, 7)
24 Playing higher than 6, but in the groove! (7)
25 Part of the rigging is like Dick in *Pinafore*. (4-3)
26 See 8 down.
27 Making a getaway like clockwork? (10)

DOWN

1 Close relative of John Bunny? (4, 6)
2 Spot one who is having a fight with his wife? (7)
3 Extremely painful! (7, 7)
4 Far from a quick animal! (7)
5 Not the first one in the corner, perhaps! (6)
7 How old-timers used to invest holdings. (7)
8 and 26. Oriental contestants in New York? (4, 4)
9 Joint service? (9, 5)
13 Prior. (10)
17 Explain the one which used to be worth $4.82? (7)
19 A bounder in a song of the mountainous district. (7)
20 Since he changed, Gordon was so-called. (7)
21 Customs which imply our country is getting old. (6)
23 Newton's off by another name. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 417

ACROSS:—1 SOFT PALATE; 6 STUN; 10 and 23 FAST AND LOOSE; 11 AGITATE; 12 SIDEREAL; 13 TONIC; 17 OVERTHROW; 19 CHEERLESS; 21 SPOOR; 24 TEMPESTS; 27 TRIDENT; 28 and 29 RADICAL SIGN; 30 MINSTRELSY.

DOWN:—1 SAFE; 2 and 3 FASHION PLATE; 4 and 15 LODGEPOLE PINES; 5 TRAIL; 7 TRAINER; 8 NOEL COWARD; 9 DICTATES; 14 SPECULATES; 16 SURVEYED; 18 EASY MARKS; 20 ERODING; 22 OPTICAL; 24 TUTTI; 25 ELDER; 26 CLAY.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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For your information, for your appraisal—

Blanshard PRO AND CON

PAUL BLANSHARD

PRO: *from Newsweek*

". . . The two books [*] should be read together. Blanshard's attack has nothing in common with the bigotry, the appeals to prejudice, or the superstitions that have disgraced American political writing on the subject since the days of the Know-Nothing Party. He writes with evident sincerity, with considerable scholarship, and always distinguishes between Catholicism as a religion and the church as an organization. The target of his attack is not the religion, but the authoritarian spirit of the organization, which he holds to be feudal and monarchical, stemming from Constantine rather than the teachings of Christ, evolving out of European conditions and habits of thought, and retrogressive in terms of American democracy. . . .

"*Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power* is a study of authoritarian thought and practice as exemplified by the Communists and the political side of the church. It consists of thirteen chapters, one on the Kremlin's structure of power followed by one on the Vatican's structure of power, one on the Kremlin's thought control followed by one on the Vatican's thought control. Blanshard, of course, recognizes that there is a difference in kind between the two organizations, and while his purpose is plainly provocative, it does not seem basically unfriendly to Catholicism. He is rather contrasting the terrific increase in Communist authoritarianism with the steady decline of the Vatican's authority. . . .

". . . Blanshard holds that the Vatican is a liability rather than an asset in the war against Communism. He also believes that habitual, uncritical acceptance of superior authority leaves its followers unprepared to meet modern Communism. . . ."

NEWSWEEK, MAY 21, 1951

*AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER. 176,000 copies in print. At all bookstores. $3.50.

COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY, AND CATHOLIC POWER. Just published. 55,000 in print and in press. At all bookstores. $3.50.

CON: *from an official spokesman for the Hierarchy, Msgr. Thomas J. McCarthy,*

director, Bureau of Information, National Catholic Welfare Conference

". . . Blanshard's assumption that a distinction can be made between the church's religious life and what he chooses to call her 'system of power' underlies the whole thesis of his book. *Newsweek* accepts Blanshard's assumption without question: 'The target of his attack is not the religion, but the authoritarian spirit of the organization. . . .'

"Actually, Blanshard's target is the Catholic religion. The 'authoritarian spirit' which he fears and denounces derives from the staggering claims of the church herself.

"What is that claim? She stands before the world as an independent society, with a divine commission to teach men the way to God. In exercising that commission, she presents a body of revealed truth, a sacramental system, a moral code, a program of education and the means for continuing her administration. She refuses to confine herself to the sacristy and to administer solely to the devotional needs of her followers. She insists that the claims of God must be honored as fully as the claims of Caesar; and she will not abdicate to Caesar in those things which pertain to God. . . ."

LETTERS DEPARTMENT, NEWSWEEK, JUNE 4, 1951

CON: *from the Daily Worker*

". . . What Mr. Blanshard has done is to repeat every Trotzkyite, fascist and otherwise slander against the Soviet Union. Then when he has compiled this fake 'record' of Soviet 'totalitarianism' which no one may dispute on pains of being branded a subversive, Mr. Blanshard triumphantly produces evidence of Vatican reaction and declares, in effect: If you oppose this when it's Soviet, you must equally oppose it when it's Catholic. . . .

"In order to veil the source of capitalist power in the U. S., the fountainhead of the war camp, Mr. Blanshard does not speak about monopoly control of the means of production. Instead he dithers that 'the majority have the right to determine our future by free choice based on free discussion with certain inalienable rights guaranteed minorities. Such freedom of choice is the only sacred thing in the unique mixture of nobility and egoism which we call Americanism, and it is the only thing which we have a right to use as a yardstick in measuring the Vatican and Kremlin.'

"Now that is just a not-very-unique mixture of mysticism and hogwash.

"For elsewhere in his book a forgetful Mr. Blanshard, in his eagerness to deal another blow to the Communists, let's slip what his private definition of American democracy really is.

"He writes: 'There is no such person in the whole Soviet educational system as a capitalist professor, since, by definition, a capitalist professor would be an enemy of the state. This latter fact is not usually emphasized by Communists in the United States when they demand freedom for anti-capitalist professors in American universities.' Poor Mr. Blanshard! In one careless phrase he exposes the fact that he, like J. P. Morgan and Harry Truman, identifies capitalism with democracy. But the American people do not. . . . ."

THE COMMUNIST DAILY WORKER, May 28, 1951

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